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ABSTRACT

The mission of the Children's Defense Fund Action Council is to "Leave No Child Behind," to do what is necessary to meet the needs of children and their parents, and to ensure a healthy, safe, fair, and moral start in life for all children. This guide examines the negative impact of the George W. Bush administration's budget and policy on these goals. The guide's foreword analyzes effects of the Bush administration's budget on children and steps the public can take to protect and invest in rather than hurt children. Part 1 of the guide outlines our investment choices as a nation. Part 2 outlines the key provision of the comprehensive Dodd-Miller Act to Leave No Child Behind, important victories to date, and how this act differs from the Bush Administration's No Child Left Behind Act. Part 3 describes the gap between the Bush administration's compassionate rhetoric and actual policy toward children. Part 4 provides state-by-state tables on child poverty, child health coverage, and state spending per public school pupil and per prisoner. The guide's appendix lists resources and key action dates. (HTH)

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WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW AND DO TO *TRULY* LEAVE NO CHILD BEHIND®

An Action Guide



Children's Defense Fund
 Action Council

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The Mission of the Children's Defense Fund Action Council

The mission of the Children's Defense Fund Action Council is to Leave No Child Behind® and to ensure every child a *Healthy Start*, a *Head Start*, a *Fair Start*, a *Safe Start*, and a *Moral Start* in life and successful passage to adulthood with the help of caring families and communities.

The CDF Action Council provides a strong, effective voice for *all* the children of America who cannot vote, lobby, or speak for themselves. We pay particular attention to the needs of poor and minority children and those with disabilities. The CDF Action Council educates the nation about the needs of children and encourages preventive investment before they get sick, into trouble, drop out of school, or suffer family breakdown.

The Action Council began in 1969 and is a private, nonprofit organization under Section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code. We have never taken government funds.

The Mission of the Movement to Leave No Child Behind®

As we enter the 21st century, America's strength reflects our courage, our compassion, our hard work, our moral values, and our commitment to justice. Today, we *can* extend the American dream of our forefathers and foremothers to every child and family. We have the know-how, the experience, the tools, and the resources. And we have the responsibility as mothers, fathers, grandparents, and concerned and sensible people across the country.

We *can* build a nation where families have the support they need to make it at work and at home; where every child enters school ready to learn and leaves on the path to a productive future; where babies are likely to be born healthy, and sick children have the health care they need; where no child has to grow up in poverty; where all children are safe in their community and every child has a place to call home—and all Americans can proudly say, "We Leave No Child Behind."

Our mission and vision in the months and years ahead is to do what it takes to meet the needs of children and their parents by building on the strengths and sense of fairness of the American people, learning from the best public and private ideas and successes, and moving forward to a renewed commitment to all our children.

Notes

This book is dedicated to the memory of

Paul and Sheila Wellstone, voices of conscience in the nation, Senate, and Minnesota for those left behind, especially the poor, children, and victims of domestic violence. We deeply miss their passion, leadership, and warm friendship.

Harold "Doc" Howe, former teacher, great commissioner of the U.S. Office of Education, Ford Foundation Vice President, and Harvard University Senior Lecturer in Education. He unwaveringly championed equal educational opportunity for poor and minority children and youths all his life.

Rosemary Matthews, director of the Resurrection Choir at CDF-Haley Farm, was the indefatigable Children's Sabbath and Stand for Children organizer in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. A tireless child advocate, she received CDF's national award for her service and advocacy for children.

Reverend Dr. Prathia Hall, a child and youth movement builder. She helped desegregate her childhood schools and challenged the closed, violent societies of Selma, Alabama and Mississippi as an organizer for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). An eloquent and inspiring preacher, teacher, and scholar, she blazed new paths as a woman theologian and professor. She was a tireless voice for children and the Children's Defense Fund.

Dr. Donald J. Cohen, leading child psychiatrist and director of the Child Study Center at Yale University School of Medicine. He developed innovative resources for children including new treatments for autism and Tourette's syndrome and internationally replicated programs for child victims of violence and disasters.

Dr. Albert Solnit, pioneer in child psychiatry and a voice to protect the best interests of the child. He served as director of the Yale Child Study Center and commissioner of the Connecticut State Department of Mental Health and Addiction Services. Al Solnit taught us new ways of understanding and caring for at-risk children and recognized the need for both individual and public policy support for the vulnerable young.

Antonis "Tony" Anastasopoulos, 17-year-old son of Francine Moccio, professor and director of Cornell's Institute for Women and Work, and Petros Anastasopoulos. A talented musician, Tony gave his life to save another.

Philip Berrigan, mighty warrior against war and for justice.

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Preface

This is the most dangerous time our children have faced since the Children's Defense Fund Action Council began 30 years ago. As our nation wages a war against Iraq and is anxiously preoccupied with terrorism in our post-September 11 nation and world, the Bush administration is waging a radical budget war on children at home.

This *Action Guide* describes how the Bush budget brings good news to the rich and bad news to the poor, defies the prophets and the gospels, and mocks American values of fair play and opportunity. It is unjust. It must be rejected for our children's and nation's sake.

Please let your Senators and Representatives hear from you now and throughout the year with calls, e-mails, letters, vigils, and visits. Urge them to:

- **Vote Yes to investing in children and vote No to huge irresponsible tax cuts for millionaires.**
- **Vote No to efforts to dismantle Head Start and block grant Medicaid, foster care, and Section 8 housing.**
- **Vote No to budget proposals to cut 30,000 children from child care assistance this year—200,000 over five years—while requiring more mothers to leave welfare and to work more hours.**
- **Vote No to cutting 570,000 children from after-school programs.**
- **Vote Yes to providing Head Start and Early Head Start for all children who need them.**
- **Vote Yes to investing in quality child care and after-school programs for children who need them when parents work.**
- **Vote Yes to health coverage for all 9.2 million uninsured children and their parents.**
- **Vote Yes to making children a top national priority by co-sponsoring and working to enact the positive national policy vision embodied in the comprehensive Dodd-Miller Act to Leave No Child Behind (S.448/H.R.936)—not to be confused with the underfunded Bush administration's No Child Left Behind Act.**

To date, a 16-member steering committee; 1,400 national, state, and local organizations; and 400 mayors and state legislators have endorsed the Movement and Act to Leave No Child Behind. We hope you will join them and urge your members of Congress to do so.

Children's needs must be met during peacetime and wartime, during economic prosperity and downturn. Children have no voice and votes except yours. Please raise your voice today and until every child is safe, healthy, and educated.

What This Action Guide Provides

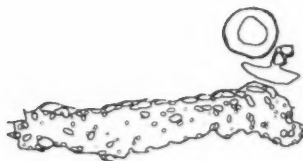
This *Action Guide's Foreword* analyzes the Bush administration's budget war on children and steps you can take to protect and invest in rather than hurt children. **Part I** outlines our investment choices as a nation. **Part II** outlines the key provisions of the comprehensive Dodd-Miller Act to Leave No Child Behind (which the CDF Action Council supports), important victories to date, and how it differs from the Bush administration's No Child Left Behind Act. **Part III** describes the gap between the Bush administration's compassionate words and uncompassionate deeds for children. **Part IV** provides state-by-state tables on child poverty, child health coverage, and state spending per public school pupil and per prisoner. The **Appendix** lists a few resources to help you and key action dates.

Visit our CDF Action Council Web site at www.cdfactioncouncil.org to keep up to date on the Act's status and what you can do to help or call 202-662-3576. You can reach your members of Congress by calling the Congressional switchboard at 202-224-3121 or visiting www.house.gov or www.senate.gov.

We hope you will read, share, and act now with the information provided in this guide.

If there is no struggle there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom and yet depreciate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground, they want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one, and it may be both moral and physical, but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will.

Frederick Douglass
West India Emancipation speech
August 4, 1857



Foreword

IT'S TIME FOR NEW VOICES FOR NEW CHOICES WHICH TRULY LEAVE NO CHILD BEHIND®

*Why do the babies starve
When there's enough food to feed the world
Why when there's so many of us
Are there people still alone
Why are the missiles called peace keepers
When they're aimed to kill
Why is a woman still not safe
When she's in her home
Love is hate
War is peace
No is yes
And we're all free
But somebody's gonna have to answer
The time is coming soon
Amidst all these questions and contradictions
There're some who seek the truth*

Why?

Tracy Chapman

The Bush administration's rhetorical mask of compassionate conservatism has been ripped off by one of the most uncompassionate and dangerous assaults on poor children in American history. Its promises that no child will be left behind are mocked by tax and budget deeds which leave millions of children but no millionaire behind.

The administration's budget says America believes children, the poor, and working families should subsidize tax breaks for the rich. It says our children and grandchildren should be burdened with a mountain of future debt as deficits escalate from profligate tax cuts and huge indiscriminate military budget increases before any war against Iraq is factored in.

The Bush administration's budget lavishes riches on the wealthiest while slashing and starving child investments. The 2001 \$1.3 trillion tax cut will give the top one percent of taxpayers with average incomes over a million dollars \$477 billion when in full effect while numerous children's programs will be eliminated, dismantled, cut, and frozen. In 2010, 52 percent of this tax cut will go to the top

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one percent of taxpayers with average incomes over a million dollars. But that was not enough! Another round of Bush tax cuts has been proposed with an estimated 10-year price tag of \$1.6-\$1.9 trillion. Just the stock dividend portion of the tax cut could provide every unserved eligible child a Head Start and every uninsured child health coverage—investments the administration seeks to undermine.

I don't begrudge anyone their first, fifth, or tenth million or billion if they are earned on a fair playing field and after children's crucial survival needs are met. But something is out of kilter when just three of our wealthiest Americans possess greater wealth than the tax revenues of 25 state governments with almost 50 million citizens. They and others in the top one percent of wealthiest Americans did not need the huge tax cuts the Bush administration and Congress gave them in 2001. They do not need these cuts accelerated or made permanent. And they do not need another set of tax breaks in 2003 when the number of jobless parents is rising, more and more children are falling into extreme poverty, and a million American children are homeless every year.

Under the guise of state flexibility, the Bush administration budget would dismantle Head Start, Medicaid, Section 8 housing, and foster care. The administration hailed Head Start as the "premier early education program." Its budget proposes to destroy Head Start as we know it. It will take Head Start away from communities, hand it over to states, shift it from the Department of Health and Human Services to the Department of Education, and eliminate the national performance standards and assurance of comprehensive services that have made it a successful program for 20 million children. Only three in five eligible children get Head Start and only three percent get Early Head Start. The administration's budget will enable only a tiny fraction of the additional eligible children who need Head Start to get it. And if the Bush administration's Head Start proposals prevail, low-income children may no longer have access to Head Start as we know it if states so choose.

A baby is born every 59 seconds without health insurance. Over 9.2 million children lack health coverage; 90 percent of them live in working families. Health care costs and the number of uninsured people are rising. The administration budget response is to block grant Medicaid and merge it with the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP); force children, persons with disabilities, and the elderly to compete for a capped pool of money; and allow states facing huge deficits and balanced budget mandates to impose unaffordable premiums and co-payments on low-income families. Health coverage for one in three of the nearly 30 million children served by these two crucial programs will be jeopardized. The administration budget fails to restore \$1.2 billion in CHIP funds to prevent states from dropping CHIP children in the future. And it does nothing to address the needs of millions of uninsured children.

Although mayors report rising homelessness and hunger and increasing requests for food and housing assistance they cannot meet, the Bush administration's budget would block grant Section 8 housing and require many communities to raise rents on the poorest families, provide less affordable housing, and make it harder for disadvantaged children to get school lunches by imposing new federal bureaucratic requirements and paperwork.

The horrible tragedy of little Faheem Williams's death in New Jersey is only the latest tip of the iceberg of the 2,000 invisible child deaths every year from neglect and abuse in our nation. How does the Bush administration's budget propose to protect these vulnerable children? By block granting foster care with no assurance of state accountability or adequate resources for overwhelmed and underfunded state child welfare systems which often lose and neglect children already abused and neglected.

A baby is born poor every 41 seconds in the richest nation on earth. Nearly 12 million children live in poverty. Almost 75 percent of them live in working poor families. Extreme child poverty is increasing. Yet the Bush budget throws up new bureaucratic barriers to make it as hard as possible for many working families to get the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC). The Bush budget message: increase flexibility for states to dismantle and cut children's programs, but increase federal bureaucracy and paperwork to deny working families urgently needed income to escape poverty.

The Bush budget weakens fundamental protections for children and cuts and freezes vital children and youth programs. Only one in seven eligible children gets federal child care assistance. Many states have long child care waiting lists. The Bush budget would slash the number of children able to get child care by 30,000 immediately and by at least 200,000 over five years. The administration's welfare plan would require more mothers on welfare to work and impose longer work hours on them while cutting federal child care assistance. Even Start, which provides literacy help to at-risk children and families, is cut \$75 million. Preschool grants for disabled children are frozen.

More than seven million children come home alone and need after-school services during hours they are at greatest risk of getting into trouble. The administration budget cuts nearly \$400 million in the 21st Century Community Learning Centers program which will leave 570,000 children home alone or out on the streets without adult supervision.

Millions of children are not ready for school and are not learning to read, write, and compute proficiently. This is a sentence to economic death in our national and global economies. Millions more children are struggling to learn in crumbling schools with overcrowded classrooms and too few well-trained teachers. Yet the

administration requests far less than the authorized amounts needed to effectively implement their much touted but much underfunded No Child Left Behind Act. It puts over \$6 billion less in the Title I program for disadvantaged children and cuts funds for teacher quality so key to closing the achievement gap between privileged and poor children. The President's promise to "make educating every child his number one domestic priority" is belied by budget deeds. The administration's first budget proposed 40 times more for tax cuts than for education increases and its budget for 2004 proposes 35 times more for tax cuts for the wealthy than for increases in education according to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. Senator Edward Kennedy said: "With the President's cuts in education, 6 million needy children will be left behind. One in every five students will attend a school that's unsafe or crumbling. There's not one dollar in the President's budget to rebuild and modernize America's schools....It's time to match reform in education with resources for education."

The Bush budget plays a shell game with children's lives. It gives a little with one hand and takes more with the other hand. In the State of the Union address, the President said he would provide \$450 million for mentors for junior high school students and children with incarcerated parents. In fact the budget provides only \$150 million. And he did not say he proposes eliminating the Elementary and Secondary Counseling Program, the Dropout Prevention Program, and the \$189 million Juvenile Accountability Block Grant which serve some of the same children. A 40 percent cut is proposed in the program to help migrant students get high school or equivalency degrees.

The Bush budget throws children's programs as bait to deficit-ridden states putting vulnerable children at risk of a double budget buzz saw. Children will be forced to compete with persons with disabilities, the elderly, and with powerful special interests for shrinking pots of money. States face their greatest deficits in 50 years. Analysts predict state shortfalls could reach \$100 billion in fiscal year 2004. Economic recession, escalating health care costs, large tax cuts in 43 states, and massive federal tax cuts have reduced state revenues disastrously. As a result, some states already are deeply cutting child health, child care, and education programs. New York Governor Pataki proposes eliminating state funding for 60,000 prekindergarten children and seeks to "make it more cumbersome for needy children to get health coverage.

The Bush administration's budget dramatically increases the federal deficit and the debt burden for our children and grandchildren and each American. The enacted and proposed Bush tax cuts would increase the federal debt passed along to our children and grandchildren by more than \$4 trillion over the next 10 years—over \$15,000 of new debt for each American.

The Bush budget indiscriminately throws money at a military budget that currently spends \$31.4 billion a month and \$376.3 billion a year. More than half of all discretionary federal spending goes to the military budget—even before any money is provided for any war against Iraq and excluding the tens of billions of dollars proposed for the new Homeland Security agency. Nine billion dollars is proposed to continue preparation for wars in the stars. Our nation already has spent over \$100 billion unsuccessfully testing technology for a missile defense system. Even if we could figure out the technology for having a missile hit a missile, is that the biggest priority when 2.8 billion people in the world live on less than \$2 a day? When millions of American children are suffering from preventable sickness and poor schooling on earth? When 8.3 million Americans are unemployed? Just this year's proposed increase for continued testing of the missile defense system would provide housing assistance for more than 240,000 homeless and poorly housed families for a year.

It's Time for New Choices

*I am about to do a new thing; now it springs forth, do you not perceive it?
I will make a way in the wilderness and rivers in the desert.*

Isaiah 43:19-20

*Many things we need can wait. The child cannot. Now is the time his
bones are being formed, his blood is being made, his mind is being developed.
To him we cannot say tomorrow. His name is today.*

Nobel Laureate Gabriela Mistral

It's time for new choices that invest more in tools of life than in weapons of death; more in children than in millionaires; more in the poor and powerless than in the powerful. It's time to disturb the peace of those preparing to wage war abroad in the name of freedom and democracy while waging a budget war against children at home who are daily terrorized by poverty, violence, hunger, and homelessness. And it's time to stop splurging billions in tax cuts on millionaires and welfare for corporations in a political system driven by money. Children can't compete with rich and powerful corporations and individuals in Congress, the White House, and State Houses.

I am so tired of feeling afraid for my children's and grandchildren's futures and waking up at night wondering whether human life will end on America's and our watch for children everywhere in our violence saturated world. So I hope you will stand with me and others to stop those who prey, pick on, and put children in harm's way. We must stop revolutionary administration attempts to destroy children's

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programs and widen the gap between those who are disadvantaged and privileged. It's time to make our country live up to its promise of fair opportunity and demand that the administration, Congress, states, and the private sector *truly* Leave No Child Behind®—*now*.

Leave No Child Behind® are not just four words for a snappy banner or a political smokescreen to hide insidious, unjust policies that leave millions of children behind. They are CDF's mission for every sacred child of God.

Leave No Child Behind® are not just compassionate words but a mandate for just and compassionate deeds for children.

Leave No Child Behind® does not mean just your child or mine or those we personally like and love. It's God's call to let all children share life and love abundantly.

Leave No Child Behind® is not a one-time speech or a winsome song but a life long struggle and sacrifice to save child lives and protect child dreams and save America's soul.

Leave No Child Behind® is not a charge to others but a charge to each of us to transform our nation and world and make new choices that protect children and pass on a better earth to those coming after.

Leave No Child Behind® is not just a feel good phrase. It's a "do good" demand to stop child crying and make God smile.

Leave No Child Behind® is more than CDF's legal trademark. It is our commitment to honor God's call to protect the orphan, the widow, the hungry, and the vulnerable in wartime and peacetime and in economic downturn and prosperity.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. said: "Ultimately a great nation is a compassionate nation. America has not met its obligations and its responsibilities to the poor. One day we will have to stand before the God of history and we will talk in terms of things we've done. Yes, we will be able to say we built gargantuan bridges to span the seas, we built gigantic buildings to kiss the skies....We brought into being many other things with our scientific and technological power. It seems that I can hear the God of history saying, 'That was not enough! But I was hungry, and ye fed me not. I was naked, and ye clothed me not. I was devoid of a decent sanitary house to live in, and ye provided no shelter for me. And consequently, ye cannot enter the kingdom of greatness. If ye do it unto the least of these, my brethren, ye do it unto me.'"

The God of history is still watching the choices we are making. How will we answer?

How We Can Stand Together for Children and for New Just Choices in our Nation

To create the world that we could have... it's a question of... citizens getting together, deepening, growing, expanding their capacities, and then going out to make a difference.

Margaret Mead

Another world is possible. She is on her way. And if you listen carefully on a quiet day, you can hear her breathing.

Arundhati Roy, author
The God of Small Things
at a rally at Porto Alegre, Brazil
February 2003

In a certain city there was a judge who neither feared God nor had respect for people. In that city there was a widow who kept coming to him saying, "Grant me justice against my opponent." For a while he refused; but later he said to himself, "Though I have no fear of God and no respect for anyone, yet because this widow keeps bothering me, I will grant her justice, so that she may not wear me out by continuously coming." And the Lord said, "listen to what the unjust judge says. And will not God grant justice to his chosen ones who cry to him day and night. Will he delay long in helping them? I tell you, he will quickly grant justice to them."

Luke 18:1-7

We must believe we can save all of our children and then do it! We *can* transform our nation's priorities if we *truly believe* we can. Don't ever give up insisting that children be protected first whatever the political or economic weather. An anonymous sage whose words I keep above my kitchen sink wrote: "If you think you are beaten, you are. If you think that you dare not, you don't. If you'd like to win, but you think you can't, it's almost a cinch that you won't. If you think you'll lose, you're lost, for out in the world you'll find success begins with a person's will. Life's battles don't always go to the stronger or faster ones. But sooner or later the one who wins is the one who thinks she can. It's all in the state of mind."

Have faith and act without ceasing on Wednesdays in Washington and Wednesdays At Home™. Like the powerless widow, we must wear down our powerful leaders through persistent witnesses on Wednesdays in Washington and Wednesdays At Home™ all over America until they hear and do right by our children. We must call, write, visit, hold prayer vigils, take our leaders on Child Watches and

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make them see and feel the suffering of children. We must tie the baby to community, state, and national budget and policy choices and tell those who represent us what they can and must do to help children. And we must hold our leaders accountable with our votes for what they actually *do* for children. More people committed to children need to run for office and not forget about children when they win.

Be strong and courageous and leave the results to God. "Plant the seed of hope and caring and leave the garden to God," Henry David Thoreau wrote. Many dismissed him as a crank or a social deviant. But Leo Tolstoy read Thoreau's essay, *Civil Disobedience*; Gandhi learned about it from Tolstoy; Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. read Gandhi; and the Civil Rights Movement made history. Don't be afraid in these scary times to be a voice in the wilderness for children and the poor. It's the moral and sensible thing to do.

Don't be intimidated or silenced by budget experts or political spin-masters. Don't let anyone label us unpatriotic or unrealistic or say we're engaging in class warfare or are bashing any political party or leader when we share the facts—the truth—about unjust national budget and policy priorities. Do your homework and educate our sleeping nation about the radical revolution underway to undermine our national commitment to children, the poor, and low and middle income families. The huge tax cuts for the wealthy and the huge military increases will starve our national government of the resources needed to serve our vulnerable young, elderly, disabled, and sustain our public infrastructure for decades to come. The life and death of our children and the very survival of our nation and world are at stake. You do not need to be able to debate the technicalities of budget and tax policy to know it's disingenuous for the White House or Congress to plead no money to invest in children while simultaneously giving trillions of dollars in tax cuts to the wealthiest Americans. You don't need a Ph.D. in Philosophy or Theology to know it's morally wrong and hypocritical for leaders to say that no child will be left behind while leaving millions of children behind in poverty, without health coverage, in crumbling schools and understaffed classrooms, and alone after school without supervision. Robbing children to subsidize tax cuts for millionaires is simply wrong and economically and socially foolish. Children's needs cannot wait; millionaires' desires can.

Trust and serve God and recognize that every single one of us can make a difference. Let God use us, unworthy, weak, and inadequate as we are. God used a stutterer, Moses, as spokesperson to Pharaoh. God took a 100-year old man, Abraham, to create a people so numerous as to cover the face of the earth. God used a boy with a slingshot to slay a giant who had paralyzed the king's army armed to the teeth with the best military weapons. God gave a young girl, Esther, courage to go ask the king to protect her people saying if I die, I die. God heard aging and

barren Hannah's ceaseless prayers for a child and gave her a son, Samuel, whom she rededicated to God. And God used five women—Moses' mother and sister, Pharaoh's daughter, and two midwives—to save a slave baby named Moses who liberated the Hebrew people. If these five very unlikely female social revolutionaries were God's instruments for transforming history, then let us believe we can be God's instruments to save our children today. If those of us who call ourselves Christians really believe God sent a poor baby to save the world and to challenge the unjust political order of his day, why are we silent today when so many poor babies are suffering?

Assign ourselves right now to be a voice for justice for children in these scary and turbulent times of war and terrorism and greed and economic uncertainty.

Wendell Phillips, the abolitionist, fervently condemned slavery in the 1840s as a "moral outrage" when his cause seemed hopeless. A friend asked him after a speech, "Wendell, why are you so on fire?" Phillips replied: "I am on fire because I have mountains of ice before me to melt." John Woolman did not wait for Abraham Lincoln, the Civil War, or the Emancipation Proclamation to speak and act against slavery. He traveled by horseback to home after home of individual Quakers to discuss the incompatibility of slavery with Quaker principles and urged them to stop being slave owners. Harriet Tubman didn't wait for President Lincoln and the Civil War either. She ran away from slavery and returned again and again to deliver others from slavery to freedom. Just do the right thing for children—right now—whatever the risk.

Never give up. Making our nation and world fit for our children and grandchildren is a task for marathoners—not sprinters. It is a complex and long-term struggle that must be pursued with both urgency and persistence. The playwright Bertold Brecht said: "There are those who struggle for a day and they are good. There are those who struggle for a year and they are better. There are those who struggle all their lives. These are the indispensable ones." Be an indispensable one for our children's and world's sake.

Organize, mobilize, and hold our leaders accountable. It's time for children's advocates and all Americans to wake up, ask hard questions, act boldly, and hold ourselves accountable for holding our leaders accountable for taking children out of harm's way. It's time to close the adult hypocrisy gap between word and deed for children. It's time to compete with those who would destroy, neglect, and lead our children astray. The soul snatchers have been busy at work turning family and child dreams into drugs and violence and greed and consumption. The budget cutters have been relentless and swift in pursuing their special interests and turning child hopes into cold despair and grinding child futures into dust. Child advocates must get better and tougher at reclaiming our children's birthright to freedom from fear

and want by working together and with more disciplined messages and priorities. We must set aside our personal and organizational egos for the greater good of saving children. We must seek and welcome new voices and make new alliances whose bottom line is the economic, social, and environmental well-being of children. If our nation and world are fit for children they are fit for everyone.

Have a positive big vision for our children and nation. It is not enough just to be against the dismantlement of and cuts to children's programs. We must demand what all children need. A lot of people say it's unrealistic for the Children's Defense Fund Action Council to seek \$75 billion in the comprehensive Act to Leave No Child Behind (S.448/H.R.936). They say our nation cannot afford it. I say nonsense. The annual investment for the Act equals less than seven-tenths of one percent of our nation's Gross Domestic Product in 2003 and less than the 2001 Bush administration tax bill when fully phased in. The tax cutters and the war profiteers don't ever stop asking for or getting far more. Our nation does not have a money problem. We have a values and priorities problem. If we can find the money to fight a war in Iraq and tax cuts for the non-needy, we can find the money for to educate and protect our children.

Dr. Benjamin Mays, President of Morehouse College and mentor of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and thousands of Black youths including me, told us: "The tragedy of life doesn't lie in not reaching your goal. The tragedy lies in having no goal to reach. It isn't a calamity to die with dreams unfilled, but it is a calamity not to dream. It is not a disgrace not to reach the stars, but it is a disgrace to have no stars to reach for. Not failure, but low aim, is a sin." It's time to do whatever it takes to make our nation treat our children right and to live up to its promise of fair opportunity. Children do not come in pieces. They live in families and communities. We must meet the needs of the whole child in the richest most powerful nation on earth now. We have the money. We have the know-how. And we have the responsibility to ensure all children what we now provide for some children. God did not make two classes of children and will hold us accountable for every one of them.

Recognize and honor the sacredness of each and every child. One of the reasons I believe so many millions of children in the United States and in our globalizing world are left behind is that too many in power and of privilege distinguish between their own children and other people's children. I agree with Mahub Ul Haq, a creator of the World Human Development Index, that we should "remind all nations of this world that abolishing poverty in the 21st century must become a collective international responsibility since human life is not safe in the rich nations if human despair travels in poor nations. Let us recognize that consequences of global poverty travel across national frontiers without passport in the form of drugs, AIDS, and pollution and terrorism." How prescient his words were.

Children—*all children*—are the world. Children are hope and life. Children are our immortality. Children are the seeds and the molders of history and the transmitters of our values—good and bad. Nothing can exist without them. Every human being began as a baby—Abraham, Moses, Mohammed, Buddha, Jesus Christ, Albert Einstein, Eleanor Roosevelt, Marie Curie, Barbara McClintock, Mother Teresa, the sacred Marys of the Bible, Harriet Tubman, Nelson Mandela, Cesar Chavez, Chief Joseph, Desmond Tutu, and Martin Luther King, Jr. When are we going to wake up and open our hearts to all of God's precious child gifts of life and love? When are we as a people going to act to build a nation and world fit and safe for and worthy of our children and grandchildren? When is our moral hegemony going to match our military and economic hegemony in a 21st century world in desperate need of hope and peace and justice?

A Prayer to the God of All Children

O God of the children of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India
Of Israel, Iraq, and Iran, Jerusalem and Jericho
Of South and North Korea, Burundi and Rwanda
Of South Africa, South Carolina, San Francisco, and San Antonio
Help us to love and respect and act now to protect them all.

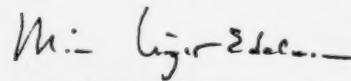
O God of Black and Brown and White and Albino children
and those all mixed together
Of children who are rich and poor and in between
Of children who speak English and Russian and Hmong and
Spanish and Chinese and Hebrew and Arabic and languages
our ears cannot discern
Help us to love and respect and act now to protect them all.

O God of the child prodigy and child prostitute,
of the child of rapture and the child of rape
Of run or thrown away children who struggle every day
without parent or place or friend or future
Help us to love and respect and act now to protect them all.

O God of children who can walk and talk and hear
and see and sing and dance and jump and play and
of children who wish they could but can't
Of children who are loved and unloved, wanted and unwanted
Help us to love and respect and act now to protect them all.

O God of beggar, beaten, abused, neglected, homeless, AIDS,
drug, violence, and hunger-ravaged children,
Of children who are emotionally and physically and mentally fragile, and
Of children who rebel and ridicule, torment and taunt
Help us to love and respect and act now to protect them all.

O God of children of destiny and of despair, of war and of peace,
Of disfigured, diseased, and dying children,
Of children without hope and of children with hope to spare and to share
Help us to love and respect and act now to protect them all.™



Marian Wright Edelman
President, Children's Defense Fund

™ *Hold My Hand: Prayers for Building a Movement to Leave No Child Behind®*

12 . . . CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND ACTION COUNCIL

Part I

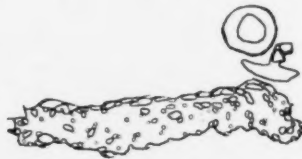
What Are the Just and Sensible Choices for Our Nation and World?

Perhaps we cannot prevent this world from being a world in which children are tortured. But we can reduce the number of tortured children....I continue to struggle against this universe in which children suffer and die.

Albert Camus speaking at a Dominican Monastery in 1948

Child neglect, abuse, and poverty are not acts of God. They are our choices as human beings and as Americans. Children do not choose their parents, their color, their families' income, their state or their nation. Their chance to survive, thrive, be educated, have health care, shelter, clean water, and enough to eat should not depend on the lottery of birth. These are basic human rights that any fair, compassionate, and sensible nation would ensure every child.

We are blessed to live in the richest nation on earth. From those who have been given much, much is expected. It is time for the United States of America to extend the American dream to every child in our land and to be a mentor for the world in protecting and investing in children. This will require transforming national priorities and stopping the Bush administration's radical domestic policy revolution underway.



Choices: Lavish Tax Cuts for Millionaires or Investments in Healthy Educated Children?

Who Benefits from the 2001 Tax Cut
When Fully in Place in 2010

	Share of total cost
Richest 1%	52%
Average income = \$1,491,000	
Next 19%	18%
Average income = \$167,474	
Second 20%	13%
Average income = \$75,800	
Middle 20%	10%
Average income = \$46,100	
Fourth 20%	6%
Average income = \$27,500	
Poorest 20%	1%
Average income = \$12,200	

Source: Citizens for Tax Justice, June 2002. Additional calculations by the Children's Defense Fund.
Average incomes shown are for 2010.

Choices: More Lavish 2003 Tax Cuts for Millionaires and Child Budget Cuts or More Education and Child Health Investments?

Adjusted Gross Income	Average Tax Cut Per Taxpayer in 2003*
Over \$1 million	\$90,222
\$200,000-\$1 million	\$7,014
\$100,000-\$200,000	\$2,661
\$50,000-\$100,000	\$1,129
\$20,000-\$50,000	\$308
Less than \$20,000	\$29

Source: Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center Microsimulation Model. Additional calculations by the Children's Defense Fund.

*The "economic growth" proposal represents \$726 billion of the \$1.6 trillion in new tax cuts proposed by the Bush administration in January and February 2003.

Choices: Lavish Tax Cuts for Millionaires and Debt for Our Children Tomorrow or Sensible Economic Priorities?

The Bush administration's tax cut agenda will increase the national debt by more than \$4 trillion—\$15,050 for every American man, woman, and child.

	Tax cut over ten years	Cost counting interest	Added debt for each American*
Tax cuts enacted in 2001	\$1.3 trillion	\$1.9 trillion	\$6,213
Tax cut proposals in 2003	\$1.6 trillion	\$1.9 trillion	\$6,334
Alternative Minimum Tax (AMT) relief proposal expected in 2005	\$658 billion	\$769 billion	\$2,503
Total	\$3.6 trillion	\$4.6 trillion	\$15,050

* Based on U.S. Census Bureau projection of 307.25 million Americans by 2013.

Source: Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, March 14, 2003. Additional calculations by the Children's Defense Fund.

Choices: Child Poverty or Child Productivity?

Every year over 11 million children live in poverty will cost our society an estimated \$137 billion in future economic output as poor children grow up to be less productive and effective workers.

Poverty Matters

Outcomes

Low-income children's higher risk

Health

Death in infancy	1.6 times more likely
Premature birth (under 37 weeks)	1.8 times more likely
Low birthweight	1.9 times more likely
No regular source of health care	2.7 times more likely
Inadequate prenatal care	2.8 times more likely
Family had too little food sometime in the last 4 months	8 times more likely

Education

Math scores at ages 7 to 8	5 test points lower
Reading scores at ages 7 to 8	4 tests points lower
Repeated a grade	2.0 times more likely
Expelled from school	3.4 times more likely
Being a dropout at ages 16 to 24	3.5 times more likely
Finishing a four-year college	½ as likely

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND ACTION COUNCIL . . . 15

Choices: War Against Child Poverty or War Against Poor Children?

There are 24,001,816 Iraqi people—more than half are under 18. There are over 32 million poor people in the United States including 11.7 million poor children. Almost 75 percent of poor children live in working poor families; 5.1 million children live in extreme poverty. The Bush administration's war on Iraq may cost between \$50 and \$200 billion in phase one. Fifty billion dollars would provide enough to lift every American poor child above the poverty line for over a year; \$200 billion would close the child poverty gap for five years.

Choices: Education or Incarceration?

The United States had the highest inmate population in the world—1,962,220 in 2001. This is more than China whose population is over four times larger.

The five largest prison systems ranked by inmate population were: Texas (162,070); California (159,444); federal prisons (156,933); Florida (72,406); and New York (67,534).

The total number of state prisoners in California exceeds all the students enrolled at the University of California at Berkeley, Davis, Los Angeles, San Diego, Irvine, and Santa Barbara combined. The Texas prison population exceeds the total undergraduate population in the University of Texas system. Florida has more people in prison than undergraduates at the University of Florida, Florida State, and the University of North Florida combined.

The Federal Bureau of Prisons budget has increased 14-fold since 1980. In 1980, it spent \$330 million for 24,000 inmates in 44 prisons; in 2002, it spent \$4.6 billion for 102 prisons.

Choices: Preparing Our Children for Life or Preparing for War?

Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies... a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, who are cold and are not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children... This is not a way of life at all in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron. **Dwight D. Eisenhower**

The United States now spends over 50 percent of its discretionary budget on the military. In fiscal year 2003, we are spending \$376.3 billion or \$31.4 billion a month. This is:

- \$7.2 billion a week—enough to provide child care for 1.2 million children of working families for a year.
- \$1 billion a day—enough to provide health coverage for 732,064 children for a year.
- \$43 million an hour—enough to provide Head Start for 6,483 children for a year.
- \$715,917 a minute—enough to fully immunize 1,120 children by age two.

Between fiscal years 2002 and 2003, the U.S. military budget increased \$27.7 billion or \$2.3 billion a month. This is:

- \$533.3 million a week—enough to provide child care for 8,888 children of working families for a year.
- \$76 million a day—enough to provide health coverage for 55,637 children for a year.
- \$3.2 million an hour—enough to provide Head Start for 482 children for a year.
- \$52,761 a minute—enough to fully immunize 83 children by age two.

The Bush administration's budget proposes another huge military budget increase of \$14.1 billion between fiscal years 2003 and 2004. This does not include the cost of a war against Iraq or the Homeland Security budget. This increase alone is:

- \$1.2 billion a month—enough to provide child care for 200,000 children of working families a year, the same number of children the administration's budget would cut from child care over the next five years;
- \$271.8 million a week—enough to provide health coverage for 198,975 children for a year.
- \$38.6 million a day—enough to provide Head Start for 5,819 children for a year.
- \$ 1.6 million an hour—enough to provide 62 new school teachers for a school year.

Choices: Greater Humanitarian or Military Investments?

We have grasped the mystery of the atom and rejected the "Sermon on the Mount"... Ours is a world of nuclear giants and ethical infants. We know more about war than we know about peace, more about killing than we know about living. **General Omar R. Bradley, Armistice Day Address, 1948**

It is not the place we occupy which is important, but the direction in which we move. **Oliver Wendell Holmes**

According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute and the U.S. Department of State, the nations of the world have spent an estimated \$12 trillion on the military since the end of the Cold War. The United States is by far the biggest military spender: \$4 trillion of that total. The Center for Defense Information reports that the United States spends more than six times as much on the military as the next biggest spender (Russia) and more than 26 times the combined expenditures of the countries traditionally identified by the Pentagon as our major adversaries (Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Sudan, and Syria). Imagine how many lives might have been saved had all of this money been invested in preventing poverty and diseases like AIDS?

- Worldwide, 42 million people, including 3.2 million children, were living with HIV/AIDS in 2002.
- There are 30 million people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa and 50,000 in the Caribbean.
- There were 3.1 million AIDS deaths in 2002: 610,000 were children.
- More than 14 million children have been orphaned by AIDS. Most of them live in Africa.
- By decade's end, more than 44 million children will be orphaned—almost the same number of children in public schools in the U.S.
- African children lost more than a million teachers to AIDS last year.
- Half of all South African 15-year olds will die of AIDS. In Botswana, two-thirds of all 15-year olds will die of AIDS.
- Each day, 10,000 people in Africa become infected with HIV/AIDS—half under 25. More than 6,000 Africans die of AIDS including a child every minute.

Choices: Military, Economic, *and* Social Superpower?

Might it be that this land with all of its richness, with all of its opportunity for true greatness, its opportunity to present itself before the world as what a nation ought to be, might now be sowing the seeds of its very destruction in abandonment of its children? **Dr. Gardner Taylor, Pastor Emeritus, Concord Baptist Church and great faith leader**

Among industrialized nations, the United States ranks:

- 1st in military technology
- 1st in military exports
- 1st in Gross Domestic Product
- 1st in the number of millionaires and billionaires
- 1st in health technology
- 1st in defense expenditures
- 12th in living standards among our poorest one-fifth of children
- 13th in the gap between rich and poor children
- 14th in efforts to lift children out of poverty
- 17th in the percent of children in poverty
- 19th in low-birthweight rates
- 23rd in infant mortality
- Last in protecting our children against gun violence

According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, U.S. children under age 15 are:

- 9 times more likely to die in a firearm accident
 - 11 times more likely to commit suicide with a gun
 - 12 times more likely to die from gunfire
 - 16 times more likely to be murdered with a gun
- than children in 25 other industrialized countries combined.

Of the 191 members of the United Nations, the United States of America and Somalia (which has no legally constituted government) are the only two nations that have failed to ratify the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Black infant mortality rates in our nation's capital exceed those in 56 nations including Bahamas, Barbados, Cuba, Dominica, and Oman.

Choices: How Do We Balance Defending Our Children from Enemies Within and Without?

There is no finer investment for any community than putting milk into babies.
Winston Churchill during World War II

Children's needs can't wait whether we are at war or peace. Although some use the necessary war against terrorism as an excuse not to invest in the urgent needs of children and families. We did not adequately invest in our children before the war on terrorism or during economic prosperity. History shows us that in the past, when faced with threats to our national security, America has recognized the need to make significant human as well as military investments. Child care, immortalized by Rosie the Riveter, was expanded so mothers could join in war production activities. Working families need these same child care supports to keep America working. Parents defending our nation abroad need safe, affordable, stable child care at home.

Revolutionary War Era 1787: Northwest Ordinance authorized land grants for the establishment of free elementary and secondary public schools throughout the newly settled territories that would become states.

Civil War 1865: The first Reconstruction Act provided for "rations" (a forerunner of today's food stamps) for the newly freed slaves in the occupied Slave Territories. It also created orphanages and public schools and provided a range of social services to the freed children.

World War I 1917: Smith-Hughes Act provided for grants to states for support of vocational education.

World War II 1942: Children's War Order Number 2 set federal standards for child care centers to be created as the war plants were built.

1946: National School Lunch Act made permanent the 1943 School Lunch Indemnity plan and authorized assistance through grants-in-aid and other means to states to assist in providing adequate foods and facilities for the establishment, maintenance, operation, and expansion of nonprofit school lunch programs.

Korean War 1954: School Milk Program Act provided funds for milk for school lunch programs.

Vietnam War 1965: Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 authorized grants for elementary and secondary school programs for children of low-income families; school library resources, textbooks, and other instructional materials for school children; supplementary educational centers and services; activities to strengthen state education agencies; and educational research and research training.

1968: Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1968 modified existing programs; authorized support of regional centers for education of handicapped children, model centers and services for deaf-blind children, recruitment of personnel, and dissemination of information on education of the handicapped; technical assistance in education to rural areas; support of dropout prevention projects; and support of bilingual education programs.

Choices: Child Welfare or Corporate Welfare?

Citizens for Tax Justice reports that John W. Snow, Secretary of the Treasury, was the CEO of CSX Corporation which paid no federal corporate income tax in three of the four years 1998-2001. From a total pre-tax U.S. profit of almost \$1 billion over the four years, CSX actually received tax rebates totaling \$164 million from the U.S. Treasury.

Citizens for Tax Justice also identified some examples of corporate tax welfare:

- WorldCom paid no corporate taxes in 1998 and 1999 despite high profits in those years.
- IBM paid no corporate income tax in 1997 on over \$3 billion in U.S. profits.
- General Motors paid no corporate income tax in 1996, 1998, and 2000.
- Enron paid no corporate income tax in four of the five years before its scandal.
- El Paso Energy reported \$1.6 billion in U.S. profits from 1996 to 2000 but paid no federal corporate income tax.
- Colgate-Palmolive paid no corporate tax at all in 1997, 1998, and 1999.
- Microsoft paid no corporate tax in 1999 despite high profits.

Business Week reported that the average CEO in 200 large corporations made 411 times the average hourly worker's pay in 2001. The average compensation for a CEO of \$15.5 million equals the salaries of more than 900 child care workers for a year.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND ACTION COUNCIL . . . 21

Choices: Prevent Now or Pay More Later?

Every \$1 we spend vaccinating children against measles, mumps, and rubella saves \$16 in medical costs to treat those illnesses.

Every \$1 invested in the Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) saves \$3 in future costs.

If smoking among pregnant women was reduced by one percentage point, 1,300 babies a year could be saved from being born too small, and \$21 million a year could be saved in direct medical costs to care for these infants.

Every year a child spends growing up in poverty will cost an estimated \$11,800 in lost future productivity over his or her working life.

Every \$1 invested in quality early childhood care and education saves from \$4 to \$7 by increasing the likelihood that children will be literate, employed, and enrolled in postsecondary education, and less likely to be school dropouts, dependent on welfare, or arrested for criminal activity.

Expanding the availability of child care subsidies increased poor mothers' work participation rates from 29 to 44 percent and near-poor mothers' rates from 43 to 57 percent, according to a study by the U.S. General Accounting Office.

The lifetime cost of allowing one child to drop out of high school and into a future of crime can total between \$1.3 to \$15 million.

The average medical treatment costs for a gun injury is \$16,500 a person including the full lifetime medical costs of patient treatment, emergency transportation, and hospital costs through long-term follow-up care.

Choices: Pennies for Healthy Children or Pounds for Children Left Behind?

For 3 cents a day from every American, we could provide all recommended vaccines for every newborn child to their second birthday.

For 4 cents a day from every American, we could lift more than 300,000 children out of poverty by continuing to expand the earned income tax credit for working families.

For 6 cents a day from every American, we could provide affordable housing for 1 million low-income families, most of whom pay at least half of their income for shelter.

For 9 cents a day from every American, we could provide Head Start to all eligible preschool-age children who need it and one-quarter of the infants and toddlers eligible for Early Head Start.

For 13 cents a day from every American, we could fully insure all the 9.2 million uninsured children.

For 27 cents a day from every American, we could provide child care assistance to all unserved eligible families and increase the quality of care.

The State of Children in America's Union

German theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who died protesting Hitler's holocaust said, "The test of a morality of a society is what it does for its children." America is flunking Bonhoeffer's test.

- An American child is abused or neglected every 36 seconds; 556,000 children are in our foster care system; 131,000 of them are waiting for adoptive families.
- An American child is born into poverty every 41 seconds; one in five children is poor during the first three years of life—the time of greatest brain development.
- An American child is born without health insurance every 59 seconds; 90 percent of our more than nine million uninsured children live in working families.
- An American child or teen is killed by gunfire every 3 hours—eight every day; 90,000 children and teens have been killed by guns since 1979.
- Millions of American children start school not ready to learn, and millions more lack safe, affordable, quality child care and early childhood education when their parents work.
- A majority of American fourth graders can't read or do math at a proficient level.
- More than seven million children are home alone on a regular basis without adult supervision after school when they are at greatest risk of getting into trouble.
- Nearly 12 million children are poor, and millions are hungry, at risk of hunger, living in worst case housing, or homeless. Almost three out of four poor children live in working families.

One Day in the Life of American Children

3	children are killed by abuse or neglect.
5	children or teens commit suicide.
8	children or teens are killed by firearms.
77	babies die before their first birthdays.
183	children are arrested for violent crimes.
381	children are arrested for drug abuse.
404	babies are born to mothers who received late or no prenatal care.
846	babies are born at low birthweight.
1,243	babies are born to teen mothers.
1,455	babies are born without health insurance.
1,887	public school students are corporally punished.
2,104	babies are born into poverty.
2,360	babies are born to mothers who are not high school graduates.
2,402	children are abused or neglected.
2,811	high school students drop out.
3,697	babies are born to unmarried mothers.
4,261	children are arrested.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND ACTION COUNCIL . . . 23

What's Wrong with Our Children?

Lord what's wrong with our children?

Children having children
Children killing children
Children killing others
Children killing themselves
Children roaming streets alone or in gangs all day and night
Children floating through life like driftwood on a beach
Children addicted to tobacco and alcohol and heroin and cocaine and pot
Drinking and drugging themselves to death to escape reality
Children running away from home and being thrown away by parents
Children being locked up in jails with adult criminal mentors or all alone
Children dying of AIDS
Children bubbling with rage and crushed by depression

What's wrong with our children, Lord?

Adults are what's wrong with our children
Parents letting children raise themselves—or be raised by television
Children being shaped by peers and gangs
instead of parents, grandparents, and kin
Children roaming the streets because there's nobody
at home or paying enough attention
Children going to drug houses that are always open instead of to school
houses and church houses that are often closed
Children seeing adults be violent to each other and to them

What's wrong with our children?

We're what's wrong with our children
Adults telling children one thing and doing another
Adults making promises we don't keep and preaching what we don't practice
Adults telling children to control themselves while slapping and spanking
Adults telling children to be honest while lying and cheating
Adults telling children not to be violent while marketing and glorifying violence
Adults telling children to be healthy while selling them junk food and
addicting them to smoke and drink and careless sex
We are what's wrong with our children.
Lord, help us to repent.™

™ *Hold My Hand: Prayers for Building a Movement to Leave No Child Behind®*

Part II

It's Time to Save Child Lives and Money: The Comprehensive Act to Leave No Child Behind

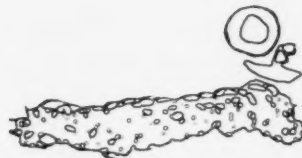
The only thing our nation will guarantee every child is a detention or prison cell *after* they get into trouble. Unlike other wealthy industrialized nations, we do not guarantee our children prenatal care to be born healthy or health care after birth. We do not assure them enough to eat or a place to sleep if their parents are unable to meet these needs alone. We do not ensure our children the high quality early childhood experiences—Head Start, child care, universal prekindergarten—they need to get ready for school. We do not ensure our children an education that teaches them to read, write, and compute proficiently and enables them to graduate from high school on time and go to college or to work and earn enough to support a family. We do not protect children against preventable neglect and abuse and gun violence that together snuffed out 5,000 child and youth lives in just one year according to the most recent data. No external enemy ever killed 5,000 children and youths in America. And we do not protect our children against the pain of preventable poverty that increases their chances of being sick and dying and failing in school.

Why is our nation so unwilling to save child lives *and* save money when we know education costs less than ignorance, preventable health care costs less than emergency rooms, preventive family services cost less than out-of-home care, and Head Start costs less than prisons?

- The average annual per child cost of a mentoring program is \$1,114.
- The cost of providing a year of employment training for unemployed youths is \$2,530
- The annual per child cost of quality after-school programs is \$3,060.
- The average annual per child cost of Head Start is \$6,633.
- The average annual per child cost for quality full-day, full-year child care is \$13,000.
- The average per prisoner cost is \$18,428.

States spend three times more on average per prisoner than per public school pupil. Can you think of a more backwards human investment policy?

The Movement and Act to Leave No Child Behind seeks to correct these misguided investment priorities.



Building on the best practices and recognizing that children do not come in pieces but in families and communities, the comprehensive **Dodd-Miller Act to Leave No Child Behind (S. 448/H.R. 936)** (not to be confused with the single-issue, underfunded No Child Left Behind Act) gives the President, Congress, state and local officials, and all Americans the opportunity to:

- Get every child ready for school through full funding of quality child care and Head Start, and new investments in preschool.
- Lift every child from poverty—half by 2004; all by 2010.
- Ensure every child and their parents health insurance.
- End child hunger through the expansion of food programs.
- Make sure every child can read by fourth grade and can graduate from school able to succeed at work and in life.
- Provide every child safe, quality after-school and summer programs so children can learn, serve, work, and stay out of trouble.
- Ensure every child a place called home and decent affordable housing.
- Protect all children from neglect, abuse, and other violence and ensure them the care they need.
- Ensure families leaving welfare the supports needed to be successful in the workplace, including health care, child care, education, and training.

We could pay for all of these urgent child investments by freezing the 2001 Bush tax cut and rejecting the 2003 Bush administration tax giveaway to the wealthiest Americans.

As we enter the 21st century, America's strength reflects our courage, our compassion, our hard work, our moral values, and our commitment to justice. Today, we can extend the American dream of our forefathers and foremothers to every child and family. We have the know-how, the experience, the tools, and the resources. And we have the responsibility as mothers, fathers, grandparents, and concerned and sensible people across the country.

We can build a nation where families have the support they need to make it at work and at home; where every child enters school ready to learn and leaves on the path to a productive future; where babies are likely to be born healthy, and sick children have the health care they need; where no child has to grow up in poverty; where all children are safe in their community and every child has a place to call home—and all Americans can proudly say, "We Leave No Child Behind."

Our mission and vision in the months and years ahead is to do what it takes to meet the needs of children and their parents by building on the strengths and sense of fairness of the American people, learning from the best public and private ideas and successes, and moving forward to a renewed commitment to all our children.

Act to Leave No Child Behind

First introduced by Senator Chris Dodd (D-CT) and Representative George Miller (D-CA) during the 107th Congress, 14 Senators and 94 Representatives co-sponsored the Act. Many major provisions were introduced with bi-partisan support; all major provisions which have passed to date had bi-partisan support. The Act to Leave No Child Behind was re-introduced in the 108th Congress in February 2003.

**A Comparison of the Comprehensive
Dodd-Miller Act to Leave No Child Behind (S.448/H.R.936)
and the Bush Administration's No Child Left Behind Act**

	Act to Leave No Child Behind	No Child Left Behind Act
Reform education	Yes	Yes
Provide health care for America's uninsured children	Yes	No
Provide Head Start for all eligible preschoolers	Yes	No
Provide child care for all eligible children	Yes	No
Provide comprehensive youth development programs for children and youths	Yes	No
Set goal to lift all children out of poverty	Yes	No
Provide tax relief for low-wage working families	Yes	No
Provide nutrition and housing assistance for millions of low- income children	Yes	No
Protect children from abuse and neglect and provide permanent families for all our vulnerable children and youths	Yes	No
Protect children from gun violence	Yes	No
Provide prevention and intervention to reduce juvenile delinquency	Yes	No
Build supportive communities for children and their families	Yes	No

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Victories Won to Date in the Comprehensive Dodd-Miller Act to Leave No Child Behind

Important progress has been made for children since the comprehensive Act to Leave No Child Behind was introduced. New laws that incorporate provisions from the Act to Leave No Child Behind were passed in the 107th Congress.

Tax Assistance for Low-income Children and Families

- The Child Tax Credit was greatly improved and made partially refundable in a manner that will lift 500,000 children out of poverty over 10 years.
- The Earned Income Tax Credit was simplified and improved by providing new tax assistance to low-income married couples.
- The Dependent Care Tax Credit was improved to provide additional child care assistance to middle-income working parents.

Food Stamp Improvements for Children and Families

- Food stamp benefits for low-income working families were gradually increased, and application and renewal processes were eased for working families.
- Five months of transitional food stamp benefits were provided for families with children who leave the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) cash assistance program.
- Funding for emergency food programs was increased.
- Food stamp eligibility was restored for all legal immigrant children and immigrants with disabilities, regardless of when they entered the United States.
- Legal immigrants who have been in the U.S. for five years were made eligible for food stamps.

New Help for Abused and Neglected Children and Youths

- The Promoting Safe and Stable Families program was strengthened and \$100 million in new funds have been approved to prevent child abuse and neglect, help families in crisis, and promote adoption.
- A new program was established to provide education and training assistance for the estimated 20,000 youths who age out of foster care each year and \$42 million was provided for 2003.

- A new program to address the impact of exposure to domestic violence on elementary and secondary school students was established.

Protections and Investments for Youths

- The 21st Century Community Learning Centers program was expanded and improved to enable more children to participate in after-school activities.
- The core protections afforded juvenile offenders were preserved to help ensure that youths in the juvenile justice system are protected from abuse and assault in adult jails.
- The requirement that states address the disparate treatment of youths of color in the juvenile justice system was strengthened.
- Important funding for prevention activities was continued to help local communities keep young people out of trouble and on the right track.
- New investments in early intervention, treatment, and services, including substance abuse treatment, enhanced mental health services, and job training, were authorized to help youths adjudicated delinquent successfully return to their communities.

Education Reforms for Children

- Accountability provisions were put in place for schools that receive Title I funds for disadvantaged students, including requirements that school districts must develop strong parent involvement activities and issue individual school report cards so parents can have information on student achievement.
- New provisions were added to improve students' performance in reading, math, and science.
- New grants were provided to states to improve the quality of teachers, principals, and early childhood educators.
- Grants to states to promote early literacy and learning were established.
- A new program to promote school readiness for emotionally at-risk children ages six and below was established.

Many of these steps forward are now threatened by the Bush administration's budget assault and by even more draconian budget proposals being considered by Congress.

The Act to Leave No Child Behind (S.448/H.R.936)

Section-by-Section Highlights

Title I—Every Child Needs a Healthy Start

Problem: The over 9 million children in America who lack health insurance are no less likely to get sick but are far less likely to see a doctor.

The Act's solutions include:

- Guaranteeing health care for children by creating Medicare-style coverage to provide a seamless nonbureaucratic web of comprehensive health care that begins at birth and gives parents an array of choices.
- Helping communities reduce lead paint poisoning, asthma, smoking, and other environmental risks.

Title II—Every Child Needs a Strong Family

Problem: It is harder than ever for parents to balance the demands of family life with the jobs necessary to make ends meet. They need more support and more time with their children.

The Act's solutions include:

- Promoting state and local parenting supports and creating community-based parenting resource centers to help parents respond to their children's needs before problems develop and get extra help when they need it.
- Extending health coverage to uninsured parents whose children are eligible for CHIP or Medicaid and enabling more parents to benefit from the Family and Medical Leave Act.

Title III—Every Child Needs to Get Ready for School and Have a Quality Education

Problem: Quality child care and early childhood education are unavailable or unaffordable for millions of children across America. Too many children enter school not ready to learn and too many schools do not expect or enable children to achieve.

The Act's solutions include:

- Expanding quality early childhood development services, fully funding and improving the quality of child care and Head Start, expanding Early Head Start, and improving parental access and choice among child care providers.

- Helping school districts recruit, train, and hire additional teachers to improve teacher quality and reduce class size and modernize their schools.

Title IV—Every Child's Low- and Moderate-Income Working Parents Need Tax Relief

Problem: Almost three of four poor children live in families who are working hard and playing by the rules but are struggling to provide for their children. Too often they don't benefit from tax credits designed to help working families. All low-income working families should be helped by tax credits.

The Act's solutions include:

- Making the \$1,000 Child Tax Credit fully refundable, which would lift over one million children from poverty.
- Increasing and making refundable the Dependent Care Tax Credit.
- Expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit.

Title V—Every Child Needs a Fair Start and a Chance to Escape Poverty

Problem: 11.7 million children—one in six—live in poverty. Nearly three of four live in working families. It is unconscionable that so many children are poor when we have the means to help them.

The Act's solutions include:

- Providing work supports including child care, health care, education and training, and transportation to help parents with low-paying jobs keep their jobs and move up to jobs with livable wages to lift their children out of poverty.
- Providing bonus funding to states that subsidize jobs, supplement wages, or implement other proven anti-poverty strategies for families.
- Encouraging states and the federal government to remove bureaucratic barriers preventing families from receiving food stamps, Medicaid, CHIP, child care assistance, housing, and tax credits.

Title VI—Every Child Needs Enough to Eat

Problem: Nearly 13 million children live in families not getting enough to eat.

The Act's solutions include:

- Increasing food stamps for low-income families with children, especially those leaving welfare for work and those with high housing costs.

- Expanding the Child and Adult Care Food Program to reach more preschool children and toddlers.

Title VII—Every Child Needs a Safe, Affordable Place to Live

Problem: Millions of children live in families who pay more than half of their income for rent or live in overcrowded or dilapidated housing or are homeless.

The Act's solutions include:

- Providing one million new rental vouchers through the federal Section 8 program over the next 10 years to help families pay housing costs.
- Increasing assistance to states to expand and improve the supply of affordable housing.

Title VIII—Every Child Needs a Safe Start

Problem: Every year, nearly one million children are confirmed as victims of child abuse and neglect, and nearly three times as many are reported as suspected victims of abuse and neglect.

The Act's solutions include:

- Extending federal support for services to children and their parents that help them prevent problems from occurring and recurring, help reunify children safely with their families, or find new permanent adoptive families or permanent care with grandparents or other relatives in a timely manner.
- Encouraging effective approaches to prevent and treat domestic violence, alcohol and drug abuse, and mental health problems in families.

Title IX—Every Child Needs a Successful Transition to Adulthood

Problem: More than seven million children are home alone after school, when they are more likely to engage in risky behaviors such as smoking, drinking, sex, or crime. Violent juvenile crime peaks between 3:00 p.m. and 6:00 p.m. More children lack positive alternatives to the streets or adult mentors during summer months when parents work.

The Act's solutions include:

- Increasing investments in after-school and youth development programs so that all children have the opportunity to avoid bad choices and realize their full potential through positive interaction with adults.

Title X—Every Child Needs a Safe Start—Juvenile Justice

Problem: Juvenile crime rates have been declining since 1994, but states are increasingly placing youthful offenders in the adult criminal justice system, while neglecting effective prevention and early intervention strategies.

The Act's solutions include:

- Increasing protections to ensure appropriate health, mental health, substance abuse, and counseling services for youthful offenders.

Title XI—Every Child Needs a Safe Start—Gun Safety and Control

Problem: More than 3,000 children and teens were killed by gunfire in 2000—eight each day. The rate of firearm deaths among American children under age 15 is almost 12 times higher than children in 25 other industrialized countries combined.

The Act's solutions include:

- Closing the gun show loopholes so only law-abiding citizens can legally purchase a gun.
- Requiring mandatory safety locks with the sale of handguns.
- Banning the possession of assault weapons and handguns by anyone under age 21.

Title XII—Every Child Needs the Support of the Entire Community

Problem: Children not only need the support of their parents but children and families need the support of the entire community—congregations, employers, and local community organizations—to thrive. Employers can play an important role in creating family friendly workplaces that allow parents to balance work and family responsibilities.

The Act's solutions include:

- Establishing a blue-ribbon commission to identify and highlight family friendly practices that the private sector and employers can promote to help families succeed.
- Strengthening national data collection and dissemination activities so that local communities can better assess the needs of children and families.

The Children Behind the Numbers

Behind every statistic in this Guide is a human being—a child and family. No family raises children alone. They depend on caring communities and just public and private sector policies and support. Read the story of one family shared by a wonderful child advocate who seeks valiantly every day to meet the needs of at-risk families and children in New York City. The Bush budget proposals would make their lives so much harder.

John Giacco, Jr. was living with his father, John, Sr., a veteran who had lost one leg in the war and whom the VA (Veterans Administration) was telling the other leg needed to be amputated. John, Jr. is also a veteran. He fought during the Vietnam conflict. He suffers from a seizure disorder and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder. He still has flashbacks from the horrors of Southeast Asia that intrude on him regularly. John, Jr. is raising three children, a little girl, Jessica, 8-years old, and two little boys, Sal, 6 years and Abe, 4 years. His children were in their mother's custody until she was incarcerated. The state placed Jessica, Sal, and Abe in foster care because they believed John, Jr. couldn't care for them. But John fought mightily to have the children returned to him when he learned from Jessica that she was sexually abused, molested, and raped almost daily and the baby, Abe, was also raped. After these horrors, the children were put in John's custody. As if it wasn't tough enough raising these three little brutalized children, John, Sr. was hit by a car and dragged by his remaining leg for three blocks. John, Jr., Jessica, Sal, and Abe watched him die.

John, Jr. is an extraordinary man. Nevertheless he needs a lot. We try to provide support. We embrace the family, love them all, provide parent skills training, Head Start, after-school, mentoring, mobile mental health, tutoring, recreation, and legal advocacy. John, Jr. has opened up to us as have these adorable, energetic, creative, struggling kids. They talk about their visits to their mother in prison. They express their fury and terror and disgust about their abuse through their paintings and play with "action figures." They can do that now that we understand somewhat more of the pain behind their "acting out."

This is a family with problems, with needs, and with spirit. They like to go fishing together by the East River or as far away as City Island or even Sheepshead Bay. They like to do things for other people. The other day they made puppets out of paper bags and put on a show for some children who had less than them.

I hope some day soon Abe will wake up smiling after a peaceful night's sleep because the monsters that plague him from under his bed, growling in his doorway, the ones he sees chewing up his legs and vomiting him out on the wall, have all been slain.

Part III

Compassionate Presidential Words— Uncompassionate Administration Deeds

Children cannot be saved by words alone. They can be saved by deeds. They cannot be fed, housed, immunized, educated, or protected from neglect and abuse by promises. They need adults who act right now to protect them from fear, want, and sickness. They need adults who will speak by acting to adequately invest now in health care, quality preschool, public schools, and after-school programs to ensure their safety today and their future tomorrow. Tomorrow is now.



Compassionate Presidential Words— Uncompassionate Administration Deeds

Compassionate Presidential Words...

Taxes

"I'm a uniter not a divider."

Candidate Bush's 2000 campaign slogan

"We will not pass along our problems
to other Congresses, to other
Presidents, and to other generations."
President's State of the Union address,
1/28/2003

"92 million Americans will receive an
average income tax relief package of
\$1,083."
President's speech, 2/13/2003

Uncompassionate Administration Deeds...

The Bush administration's proposed
tax cuts will greatly widen the
economic gap between rich and poor
Americans, already at the highest
point in recorded history. The admin-
istration's new tax proposals will
hand an average of \$90,000 to each
millionaire but nothing to 40 million
Americans, including nearly half of all
Black and Latino children.

The Bush administration's enacted
and proposed tax cuts would increase
the federal debt passed along to our
children and grandchildren by more
than \$4 trillion over the next 10 years.
That's \$15,000 of new debt for each
American.

Half of American taxpayers would
get between \$0 and \$100 under the
administration's 2003 tax cut plan.
The administration's average tax cut
figure of \$1,083 is deceptively large
because it lumps together huge tax
breaks for millionaires (more than
\$90,000 per millionaire) with much
smaller amounts for most Americans.

Compassionate Presidential Words...

Education

"The highest percentage increase in our budget should go to our children's education. Education is my top priority."

President's speech to Congress,
2/27/2001

Early Education

"Our goal as a nation must be to make sure that no child is denied the chance to grow in knowledge and character from their very first years."

President's speech, 4/3/2002

Uncompassionate Administration Deeds...

The Bush administration's first budget proposed 40 times more for tax cuts than for education increases. The administration's budget for 2004 proposes 35 times more for new taxes than for increases in education. Both tax cuts primarily benefit the wealthy. The request for its much touted but much underfunded No Child Left Behind Act is \$6.15 billion less than the \$18.5 billion authorized for Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for help for disadvantaged youths.

The Bush administration's budget proposes to dismantle Head Start, the premier early childhood program for disadvantaged preschoolers, take it away from local communities, and hand it over to the states. It would eliminate the performance standards and the assurances of comprehensive services that have made Head Start a success and helped 20 million children get ready for school. Just the cost of the proposed stock dividend portion of the 2003 tax cut could provide every unserved child a Head Start and every uninsured child health insurance, investments the administration seeks to undermine.

Compassionate Presidential Words...

Healthy Children

"My administration cares about results, about getting Americans broader and better medical coverage."

President's radio address, 8/4/2001

Help for Families

"Afterschool programs keep kids safe, help working families, and improve academic achievements. They provide children with the opportunity to benefit from mentoring and help students learn the value of reading. They engage students in service and ensure that youth have access to anti-substance abuse programs. For America's working parents, they provide the confidence that their children are well cared for after the school day ends."

President's letter to Afterschool Alliance, 10/4/2002

"Across America, no doubt about it, single mothers do heroic work. They have the toughest job in our country."

President's speech, 2/26/2002

Uncompassionate Administration Deeds...

The Bush administration's plan to block grant Medicaid and merge the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) and Medicaid will jeopardize comprehensive health services for millions of low-income children. It will place children in deficit-ridden states in competition with persons with disabilities, the elderly, and other adults for limited pots of money. The administration's budget leaves 9.2 million children without health insurance and does not request funds needed to maintain CHIP's progress.

The Bush administration's budget would cut at least 200,000 children from child care assistance over the next five years and cut 570,000 children from after-school programs in a single year. Who is to take care of children when parents work?

The Bush administration's welfare plan would require more mothers on welfare to work and impose longer hours of work on them, while slashing federal child care assistance currently available to only one in seven eligible children. And it does not ensure

Compassionate Presidential Words...

"There are still deep needs and real suffering in the shadow of America's affluence. Problems like... homelessness. We are called by conscience to respond."
President's speech, 1/29/2001

"Deep, persistent poverty is unworthy of our nation's promise."
President's Inaugural address, 1/20/2001

Uncompassionate Administration Deeds...

adequate resources for work supports including health care, transportation, education, and decent wages to escape poverty.

The Bush administration's budget would block grant the Section 8 housing program and require many communities to raise rents on the poorest families in the program. The administration creates more federal bureaucracy to prevent many low-income families from getting the Earned Income Tax Credit they need to pay their rent and makes it more difficult for their children to get school lunches at a time when large numbers of children are hungry or at risk of hunger.

The Bush administration doubled the child tax credit from \$500 to \$1,000 in its 2001 \$1.3 trillion tax cut plan but only for upper and middle income families. This left millions of children behind. Today 5.1 million children live in extreme poverty in the richest nation on earth. A majority live in working families. The administration continues to oppose refundable child tax credits for low-income families with children which could lift many from poverty.

The Children Behind the Numbers

"Anna" is a single mother of three whose employer does not provide her with health coverage. Her 3-year old son developed an ear infection, and she took him to the emergency room of Texas Children's Hospital in Houston. At the hospital, her son was diagnosed with not only an ear infection but also a life-threatening heart condition. The hospital helped her apply for the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP). She completed the application and was approved for coverage before her son had to have heart surgery. Anna is so grateful that CHIP provided her son with health coverage for an operation that saved his life and that she could never have afforded without health insurance.

Part IV

How Children Fare in the States

One Day

One day, youngsters will learn words they will not understand.

Children from India will ask:

What is hunger?

Children from Alabama will ask:

What is racial segregation?

Children from Hiroshima will ask:

What is the atomic bomb?

Children at school will ask:

What is war?

You will answer them.

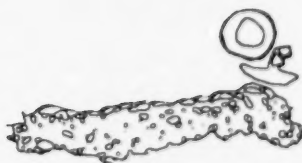
You will tell them:

Those words are not used any more
like stage coaches, galleys or slavery

Words no longer meaningful.

That is why they have dictionaries.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.



**In the richest nation on earth, one in six children is poor; one in five under three is poor.
A majority of all poor children live in eight states. More than one-fourth live
in three states: California, New York, and Texas.**

Child Poverty

Children living in poverty, 1989

	Under age 18			Under age 6		
	Number poor	Percent poor	Rank	Number poor	Percent poor	Rank
Alabama	237,881	21.5%	45	82,914	23.6%	45
Alaska	22,041	11.8	11	7,718	13.8	13
Arizona	257,710	19.3	39	94,187	21.0	39
Arkansas	146,321	21.8	46	53,196	24.8	46
California	1,757,100	19.5	40	596,765	20.4	38
Colorado	121,614	11.3	9	44,237	12.7	8
Connecticut	85,908	10.4	4	29,348	11.1	3
Delaware	23,405	12.3	15	8,536	14.2	15
District of Columbia	35,367	31.7	51	12,696	33.3	51
Florida	627,997	17.6	35	208,747	18.7	33
Georgia	385,406	17.1	33	127,351	18.2	32
Hawaii	40,542	14.1	23	13,940	15.3	18
Idaho	51,868	14.3	24	19,341	16.9	25
Illinois	456,901	14.3	24	161,727	15.6	20
Indiana	187,801	12.2	14	73,230	14.6	17
Iowa	79,247	11.0	6	29,202	13.1	10
Kansas	83,957	12.0	12	32,253	14.5	16
Kentucky	203,547	20.8	44	71,871	22.8	44
Louisiana	319,670	26.6	49	108,795	29.0	50
Maine	40,171	13.7	18	13,338	15.9	22
Maryland	141,877	10.7	5	48,656	11.6	5
Massachusetts	177,383	12.0	12	58,454	12.4	7
Michigan	352,935	13.9	20	123,830	15.5	19
Minnesota	121,691	9.6	2	41,403	10.6	2
Mississippi	206,450	27.0	50	69,506	28.6	49
Missouri	220,556	15.7	30	77,253	17.7	30
Montana	42,912	19.0	38	14,358	22.2	41
Nebraska	54,477	12.3	15	19,380	14.0	14
Nevada	69,777	14.0	21	27,287	15.9	22
New Hampshire	23,635	7.8	1	8,190	9.1	1
New Jersey	227,754	11.1	7	76,446	11.5	4
New Mexico	125,218	25.0	48	42,736	27.8	48
New York	915,710	20.0	42	308,272	21.1	40
North Carolina	311,053	16.1	31	113,199	17.8	31
North Dakota	22,163	14.0	21	8,173	17.4	29
Ohio	408,685	14.4	26	152,373	17.1	26
Oklahoma	171,929	19.6	41	63,051	22.7	43
Oregon	121,460	14.7	28	44,662	17.1	26
Pennsylvania	421,745	14.7	28	141,187	16.2	24
Rhode Island	41,162	16.9	32	14,548	19.2	34
South Carolina	187,275	18.8	37	62,856	20.1	36
South Dakota	33,965	17.2	34	11,948	19.8	35
Tennessee	247,397	18.0	36	89,329	20.2	37
Texas	1,189,935	20.5	43	425,138	22.3	42
Utah	71,765	10.1	3	28,442	11.6	5
Vermont	16,595	11.4	10	5,448	13.3	12
Virginia	209,532	12.3	15	71,726	13.1	10
Washington	202,891	13.7	18	73,029	15.7	21
West Virginia	96,096	24.3	47	32,491	26.8	47
Wisconsin	150,166	11.2	8	52,607	12.9	9
Wyoming	18,215	14.5	27	6,319	17.3	28
United States	11,746,858	16.6		4,101,689	18.1	

**9.2 million children, almost one in eight, lack health insurance;
90 percent of them live in working families.**

Children without Health Insurance

	Children without health insurance throughout the year, 1999-2001			Children enrolled in Medicaid, FY 2000	Children enrolled in CHIP, FY 2002
	Estimated number	Percent	Rank		
Alabama	115,000	9.7%	21	387,482	83,359
Alaska	29,000	14.5	41	72,558	22,291
Arizona	264,000	18.3	49	436,164	92,705
Arkansas	88,000	12.2	37	289,370	1,912
California	1,578,000	16.2	44	3,849,152	856,994
Colorado	167,000	14.4	40	221,109	51,826
Connecticut	69,000	7.8	14	230,067	21,346
Delaware	15,000	7.5	11	66,316	9,691
District of Columbia	14,000	11.2	32	82,701	5,060
Florida	662,000	17.2	46	1,245,949	368,180
Georgia	291,000	12.7	38	780,145	221,005
Hawaii	28,000	9.1	18	n/a	8,474
Idaho	61,000	15.6	42	103,015	16,895
Illinois	380,000	11.1	31	1,042,649	68,032
Indiana	170,000	10.2	23	478,900	66,225
Iowa	48,000	6.1	5	172,243	34,506
Kansas	79,000	10.4	25	162,695	40,783
Kentucky	108,000	10.3	24	401,986	93,941
Louisiana	226,000	17.5	48	513,346	87,675
Maine	22,000	7.0	9	103,265	22,586
Maryland	138,000	9.7	21	427,123	125,180
Massachusetts	109,000	6.9	8	499,912	116,699
Michigan	205,000	7.5	11	809,240	71,882
Minnesota	80,000	5.9	4	330,045	n/a
Mississippi	96,000	11.7	34	350,486	64,805
Missouri	80,000	5.3	3	572,899	112,004
Montana	38,000	15.6	42	53,451	13,875
Nebraska	38,000	8.0	15	151,568	16,227
Nevada	92,000	17.2	46	94,746	37,878
New Hampshire	22,000	6.6	7	67,541	8,138
New Jersey	210,000	9.6	20	491,360	117,053
New Mexico	111,000	20.6	50	270,588	19,940
New York	529,000	10.7	27	1,525,759	807,145
North Carolina	238,000	11.5	33	688,402	120,090
North Dakota	16,000	9.3	19	33,364	4,463
Ohio	275,000	9.0	17	822,277	183,034
Oklahoma	159,000	16.8	45	384,761	84,490
Oregon	106,000	11.8	35	263,455	42,976
Pennsylvania	217,000	7.0	9	861,341	148,689
Rhode Island	12,000	4.7	1	92,938	19,515
South Carolina	130,000	12.1	36	453,295	68,928
South Dakota	19,000	8.7	16	62,572	11,183
Tennessee	111,000	7.5	11	709,954	n/a
Texas	1,411,000	22.7	51	1,706,960	727,452
Utah	80,000	10.4	25	131,408	33,808
Vermont	8,000	4.8	2	69,596	6,162
Virginia	196,000	10.7	27	398,334	67,974
Washington	176,000	11.0	30	568,245	8,754
West Virginia	46,000	10.8	29	196,345	35,949
Wisconsin	94,000	6.5	6	331,047	62,391
Wyoming	18,000	13.2	39	32,193	5,059
United States	9,200,000	12.1		24,187,576	5,315,229

States spend three times more on average per prisoner than per public school pupil.

State Spending for Public School Students and Prisoners

	Expenditures per pupil 1997-98	Expenditures per prisoner 1997	Ratio of per prisoner expenditures to per pupil expenditures
Alabama	\$4,849	\$7,600	1.6
Alaska	8,271	31,953	3.9
Arizona	4,595	16,884	3.7
Arkansas	4,708	14,964	3.2
California	5,644	20,654	3.7
Colorado	5,656	14,652	2.6
Connecticut	8,904	21,677	2.4
Delaware	7,420	16,378	2.2
District of Columbia	8,393	N/A	N/A
Florida	5,552	17,988	3.2
Georgia	5,647	15,925	2.8
Hawaii	5,858	18,964	3.2
Idaho	4,721	21,269	4.5
Illinois	6,242	18,032	2.9
Indiana	6,318	19,664	3.1
Iowa	5,998	21,291	3.5
Kansas	5,727	18,490	3.2
Kentucky	5,213	11,752	2.3
Louisiana	5,188	8,705	1.7
Maine	6,742	30,656	4.5
Maryland	7,034	18,334	2.6
Massachusetts	7,778	34,055	4.4
Michigan	7,050	23,956	3.4
Minnesota	6,388	33,677	5.3
Mississippi	4,288	10,783	2.5
Missouri	5,565	11,972	2.2
Montana	5,724	14,226	2.5
Nebraska	5,958	15,964	2.7
Nevada	5,295	14,335	2.7
New Hampshire	6,156	21,967	3.6
New Jersey	9,643	21,326	2.2
New Mexico	5,005	28,400	5.7
New York	8,852	22,845	2.6
North Carolina	5,257	21,880	4.2
North Dakota	5,056	20,863	4.1
Ohio	6,198	17,572	2.8
Oklahoma	5,033	8,845	1.8
Oregon	6,419	24,527	3.8
Pennsylvania	7,209	25,832	3.6
Rhode Island	7,928	31,874	4.0
South Carolina	5,320	16,340	3.1
South Dakota	4,669	12,869	2.8
Tennessee	4,937	17,664	3.6
Texas	5,444	13,283	2.4
Utah	3,969	27,533	6.9
Vermont	7,075	29,723	4.2
Virginia	6,067	20,288	3.3
Washington	6,040	26,481	4.4
West Virginia	6,323	23,227	3.7
Wisconsin	7,123	22,223	3.1
Wyoming	6,218	17,021	2.7
United States	6,189	18,428	3.0

N/A — data not available.

Appendix

Anyway

People are unreasonable, illogical and self-centered.
Love them anyway.

If you do good, people may accuse you of selfish motives.
Do good anyway.

If you are successful, you may win false friends and true enemies.
Succeed anyway.

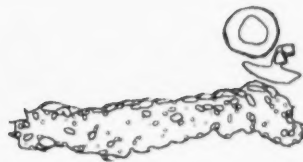
Honesty and transparency make you vulnerable.
Be honest and transparent anyway.

What you spend years building may be destroyed overnight.
Build anyway.

People who really want help may attack you if you help them.
Help them anyway.

Give the world the best you have and you may get hurt.
Give the world your best anyway.

Meditations from A Simple Path
by Mother Teresa



Key 2003 Action Dates for Children

- April 8-11** New Voices New Choices! It's Time to *Truly* Leave No Child Behind!
CDF's 2003 National Conference
Marriott Wardman Park Hotel, Washington, D.C.
(For more information, call 202-662-3646,
email: conf2003@childrensdefense.org, or visit CDF's Web site at
www.childrensdefense.org.)
- June 1** Stand for Children Weekend
(For events planned in specific communities, visit the Stand For
Children Web site at www.stand.org.)
- June 11** Capitol Hill Wednesday in Washington Stroller Parade
(To register, call 202-662-3671 or email: strollerparade@childrensdefense.org.)
- July 14-18** Samuel DeWitt Proctor Institute for Child Advocacy Ministry and
Great Preachers Series, CDF's Haley Farm, Clinton, Tenn.
(For more information, call Jacquelyn King at 865-457-6466,
email: jking@childrensdefense.org, or visit CDF's Web site at
www.childrensdefense.org.)
- July 23** Youth Wednesday in Washington
(For more information, call 202-662-3535.)
- Oct. 14** CDF's 30th Anniversary and Celebration of Youths Beating the Odds
National Building Museum, Washington, D.C.
(For a calendar of Beat the Odds® celebrations in other
communities and how you can start one, visit the CDF Web site at
www.childrensdefense.org.)
- Oct. 15** Grandrally: Grandparents' Wednesday in Washington
Sponsored by AARP, Child Welfare League of America, Generations
United, and CDF
(For more information, call 202-662-3656 or email:
grandrally@childrensdefense.org.)
- Oct. 17-19** Annual National Interfaith Observance of Children's Sabbaths
- Nov. 11** CDF's 30th Anniversary Gala and Celebration of Youths Beating the Odds
Apollo Theatre, New York, N.Y.

Participate in the Movement to Leave No Child Behind®

Wednesdays in Washington and Wednesdays at Home™ are a centerpiece of the efforts to mobilize a critical mass of people from all walks of life to demand action from our leaders to protect and invest in all of our children. We seek to build a persistent, powerful voice and witness of presence for children on Wednesdays across America including visits, emails, phone calls, and faxes to members of Congress in Washington and in their local offices and other visible grassroots and grasstops organizing and mobilizing efforts. We also seek to engage state and local public officials in support of our vision and specific annual goals to Leave No Child Behind®.

The **Child Watch Visitation Program** was designed to allow our leaders to witness firsthand what is happening to our children and the implications of child neglect for our communities and nation. It shares the stories and lives of real children that too often go unnoticed in statistics and reports. Organized by volunteers and advocates across the country, the Child Watch Visitation Program moves executives, clergy, legislators, and other community leaders out of their offices and into the world of the children and families affected each day by their decisions.

Participate in Wednesdays in Washington, Wednesdays at Home, or a Child Watch and help political, media, and community leaders see firsthand the needs of children in your community and what they can do. For more information on how you can get engaged in Wednesdays and Child Watch in your community, visit www.childrensdefense.org or call 202-662-3535.

The **Student Health Outreach (SHOUT)** and **Student Poverty Reduction Outreach (SPROUT)** projects offer young people an opportunity to develop leadership and advocacy skills while connecting children and families with the public benefits they qualify for, greatly need, but in many cases aren't aware of or receiving. For more information on SHOUT and SPROUT, call 202-662-3588 or 212-697-2323.

Selected Publications

Children in the States 2003. Check on how your state fares on a range of children's indicators, see www.childrensdefense.org/statesdata.htm. Available only on CDF's Web site.

The Access Handbook: Help Families Get the Benefits They're Eligible For. A resource for advocates to help families get benefits including tax credits, food stamps and other nutrition programs, and health coverage. Free. (For copies, call 202-662-3542.)

Tax Cut Basics: How Trillion\$ in Tax Cuts Leave Millions of Children and No Millionaire Behind. Available only on CDF's Web site.

State Budget Cuts Create A Growing Child Care Crisis for Low-Income Working Families. Learn how the state fiscal crisis is affecting children in your state. Available only on CDF's Web site.

State Developments in Child Care, Early Education, and School-Age Care 2002 State-by-state comparisons of child care and early education policies. \$7.95 plus shipping.

Key Facts: Essential Information about Child Care, Early Education, and School-Age Care 2003. A briefing book with a series of fact sheets on child care, early education, and school-age care as well as data and material about policies and programs. \$7.95 plus shipping.

A Fragile Foundation: State Child Care Assistance Policies. A comprehensive review of state child care subsidy policies including eligibility, access to assistance, parents' contributions, provider reimbursements, how providers are paid, and how states administer their programs. \$8.95 plus shipping.

Kinship Care State Fact Sheets. Learn about the numbers of children being raised by grandparents and other relatives and efforts in the states to help these children and the relatives raising them. Free. (For copies, call 202-662-3568. Also available on CDF's Web site.)

The Grandparent's and Other Relative Caregiver's Guides. Four helpful guides written for kinship caregivers each on a different topic: Child Care and Early Childhood Education, Food and Nutrition Programs for Children, Health Insurance for Children, and Raising Children with Disabilities. Free. (For copies, call 202-662-3568. Also available on CDF's Web site.)

Healthy Ties: Ensuring Health Coverage for Children Raised by Grandparents and Other Relatives. Look at Medicaid and CHIP enrollment policies in each state for children being raised by relatives. Free. (For copies, call 202-662-3568.)

Protect Children Instead of Guns 2003. The latest state-by-state data on children killed by gunfire. Free. (For copies, call 202-662-3592.)

Summer Freedom School and After-School Curriculum Guides and Book Lists and Latino Supplement and Book List. Freedom schools provide academic and cultural enrichment, recreation, and nutrition to children in more than 65 sites during the summer and throughout the school year. To learn about Freedom Schools in your area and how to start them, call 202-662-3501. Curriculum: \$30.00 plus shipping. Book List: \$5.00 plus shipping. Latino Supplement: \$50.00 plus shipping.

Providing What God Requires and Children Need: Justice, Kindness and Faith. Use this multi-faith resource manual to plan and promote your 2003 Children's Sabbath. \$6.00 plus shipping. (Prices vary with bulk orders; call for more information.)

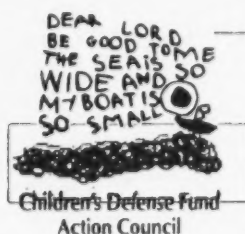
I'm Your Child, God: Prayers for Our Children. Marian Wright Edelman's new collection of prayers for children reflect on hope, love, and gratitude. \$19.99 plus shipping.

For more information or to order the following publications, call 202-662-3652 or visit CDF's Web site at www.childrensdefense.org.

Notes

Moments in America for All Children

Every 20 seconds	a child is arrested.
Every 23 seconds	a baby is born to an unmarried mother.
Every 36 seconds	a child is abused or neglected.
Every 37 seconds	a baby is born to a mother who is not a high school graduate.
Every 41 seconds	a baby is born into poverty.
Every 59 seconds	a baby is born without health insurance.
Every minute	a baby is born to a teen mother.
Every 2 minutes	a baby is born at low birthweight.
Every 4 minutes	a baby is born to a mother who received late or no prenatal care.
Every 4 minutes	a child is arrested for drug abuse.
Every 8 minutes	a child is arrested for violent crimes.
Every 19 minutes	a baby dies before his first birthday.
Every 42 minutes	a child or teen dies in an accident.
Every 3 hours	a child or teen is killed by a firearm.
Every 5 hours	a child or teen commits suicide.



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